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PROGETTO DI RICERCA DI RILEVANTE INTERESSE NAZIONALE 2022
"LINKED WORDNETS FOR ANCIENT INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES"

[THINKING – INDO-EUROPEAN]

Meaning and Form in Historical Linguistics and Comparative Reconstruction

May 19 – Day 1

13:45-14:00 **Opening Remarks**

14:00-15:00 **Keynote Lecture 1:**
Silvia LURAGHI (University of Pavia)
Interactive second arguments in Ancient Greek: Evidence for constructional merger

15:00-15:15 **Break**

15:15-16:45 **Session 1**

15:15-15:45 Francesco MAMBRINI (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore) and Silvia ZAMPETTA (University of Pavia)
Definite Article Omission in Classical Greek Coordination

15:45-16:15 Stefan HÖFLER (University of Vienna)
When Adjectives Name Kinds: Classificatory ADJECTIVE + NOUN Expressions in Indo-European

16:15-16:45 Eystein DAHL (Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu)
Subjecthood and subject properties in Indo-European

16:45-17:15 **Break**

17.15-18.45 **Session 2**

17:15-17:45 Claire LE FEUVRE (Sorbonne Université, Paris)
**-tero-* derivatives from nouns in Indo-European languages: semantics and reconstruction

17:45-18:15 Chiara ZANCHI (Università di Pavia)
Together, after, differently: the meanings and productivity of Greek *meta-* in the diachrony of Greek

18:15-18:45 Thiago MENDES VENTUROTT (University of Würzburg)
Prefixed *uerba dicendi* as resultatives in Greek and Latin

May 20 – Day 2

9:30-11:00 **Session 3**

9:30-10:00 Riccardo GINEVRA (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)
Distance Makes the Heart Grow Fonder: On the Etymology of Ancient Greek *ἔραμαι* 'desire, love' and Latin *dēsīderō* 'miss, desire'

10:00-10:30 Andrew MERRITT (Georgetown University)
A Cognitive Semantic Perspective on the Etymology and Poetics of *κάλλος* and *śrī-*

10:30-11:00 Mattia PETROGALLI (Università degli Studi di Bergamo)
Conceptualizing Sterility and Sexual Insensitivity within Sensory-Impairment Domains in Greek and Roman Texts

11:00-11:30 **Break**

11:30-13:00 **Session 4**

11:30-12:00 Annamaria BARTOLOTTA (Università di Palermo)
The Indo-European root **h₁es* - 'to be' from a typological perspective

12:00-12:30 Matteo TARSI (Università di Pavia)
PIE **sent-*

12:30-13:00 Lucien VAN BEEK (Leiden University)
Conceptual metaphors and the etymology of Vedic *ɾtá-*

13:00-14:30 **Lunch**

14:30-15:30 **Keynote Lecture 2:**
José L. GARCÍA RAMÓN (Köln / AIBL, Paris)
Form and Meaning(s) in Indo-European Reconstruction: semantic paths, metaphors, phraseology

15:30-16:00 **Break**

16:00-17:30 **Session 5**

16:00-16:30 Giorgio CARBONI (Università per Stranieri di Siena)
The etymology of *Ἐρινύς* in light of Indo-European phraseology

16:30-17:00 Paola DARDANO (Università per Stranieri di Siena)
Spells and Speech Acts in Pre-Classical Anatolia: Verbs of Saying in Hittite Magical Texts

17:00-17:30 Erica FRATELLINI (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)
The Hesiodic compound *ἀλεξιάρη*

20:00 **Conference Dinner**

May 21 – Day 3

9:30-10:30 **Session 6**

9:30-10:00 Birgit Anette OLSEN (University of Copenhagen)
Thinking "giving", "taking", and the exchange of wealth in Indo-European

10:00-10:30 Giorgio SCALVINI (Università per Stranieri di Siena & Sorbonne Université)
The Lands of Well-Fed Horses: Some Reflections on Gk. *ἱππόβοτος*

10:30-11:00 **Break**

11:00-12:30 **Session 7**

11:00-11:30 Irene DE FELICE (Università del Piemonte Orientale) and Roberta LEOTTA (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)
Thinking the mind: metaphors, collocations, and pragmatic functions of Latin *mens*

11:30-12:00 Eleonora LITTA and Riccardo GINEVRA (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore)
Cerebrate, Cogitate, Think: Mapping the Semantic Neighbourhood of 'Reasoning' in the Latin WordNet

12:00-12:30 Laura MASSETTI (University of Naples "L'Orientale")
Athena *Mentor*: Thinking about the Finale of the *Odyssey*

12:30-12:45 **Closing Remarks**

Workshop

May 19-21, 2026
Aula G.016 Sala Maria Immacolata
Largo A. Gemelli, 1 - Milano
Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE:
Erica FRATELLINI
Riccardo GINEVRA
Eleonora LITTA

To attend the workshop online via Microsoft Teams please use this link.

UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA del Sacro Cuore

[THINKING – INDO-EUROPEAN]

Meaning and Form in Historical Linguistics and Comparative Reconstruction

Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano
May 19-21, 2026

Book of Abstracts

Organizing Committee:
Erica Fratellini
Riccardo Ginevra
Eleonora Litta

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Keynote talks

Form and Meaning(s) in Indo-European Reconstruction: semantic paths, metaphors, phraseology

José L. García Ramón
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The lexicon of Indo-European languages, like that of other linguistic families, frequently reveals a discrepancy between the meaning or meanings that the etymology of each term would suggest and those that are currently attested, whether in a single language (or family) or in more than one. In a rather schematic formulation, there are two possible situations with several intermediate possibilities.

On the one hand, a lexeme may have, apart from its basic meaning /A/, other meanings (/B/, /C/, …), attested in one or more languages, which seem impossible to reduce to the one expected in light of its etymology. In some cases, it is possible to reduce the attested senses to a single basic meaning that has undergone a semantic shift (regardless of how this shift is to be explained) without any great difficulty, e.g. IE *$b^heu̯d^h$- 'to wake up, awaken' (Ved. aor. *budhá-*, perf.ptc. *bubudh-āná-* 'awaken'; Av. *baod* 'id.') → 'to perceive, observe' (Ved. *bódh-a-*^{te}, YAv. *būiδiia-* 'to become attentive'; Gk. πεύθομαι), 'to notice, learn' (Gk. aor. ἐπυθόμην), or *$ĝ^heu̯(d^h)$- 'to pour' (also metaphorically of 'prayers' and 'words'), also → 'to kill' ('to pour blood': OE *gētan Beow.* 2940, OIr. *guth* 'death'), → 'to move/flow with force' (OIr. *gus* 'force', OIc. *geysir* 'geyser'). In other cases, determining a basic meaning that may ultimately be traced back to Proto-Indo-European may be rather problematic. This is the case with *h_1leud^h- for which a basic meaning 'to rise, to grew up' (as Ved. *rodh*, YAv. *raod*, Goth. *liudan*) or 'go ahead' (as Hom. ἤλυθον, Toch.B *lac* A *läc* 'went (out)', OIr. *luid* 'went') has been assumed, or with *_nes-_ 'to reach, to come *where one will*' (of different subjects in RV *nás-a-*^{te}), secondarily 'to come home' (cf. Ved. *astá-* 'dwelling of god', Gk. νᾶος 'id.'), also 'safely escape' (Hom. ἄσμενος, cf. σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι *Il.* 1.32), and → 'desire' (Toch. *näsk-* *'to run for'). The same applies to the formal equation Ved. *bhā́s* 'light, splendour' : Lat. *fās* 'divine [uttered] norm' (*$b^héh_2$-*es*-): whether the latter goes back to *b^heh_2- 'to shine' (and how may this be accounted for) or to *b^heh_2- 2 'to speak' remains controversial.

Conversely, one basic meaning may be expressed by two or more lexemes that are either synonymous or quasi-synonymous, regardless of whether their meanings are inherited or the result of a secondary shift. This is the case, for instance, with **ker(s)-* 'to cut, separe' (Hitt. *kar(a)š-^{mi}*, Gk. κείρω, κερσε-κόμης) and **sek-* 'id.' (Hitt. *šakk-^{hhi}*), which attest to the semantic path /cut/ (Toch.*kärst-* , Lat. *, secō, -āre*) → /know/ (Toch.B *kärs-* , Lat. *(in)sciō, -īre*).

In both cases it can be safely assumed that the meanings which differ from that which might be expected on the strength of their etymology do reflect secondary conceptualisations (/B/, /C/, etc.) of the original meaning /A/, going back to semantic shifts of different types (realisations of a basic sense, semantic paths, shifts due to the type of referents, lexicalisation of morphosyntactic variants) or to metaphors in lexicon and phraseology. Determining the original meaning of the lexemes and terms to which the attested forms can be traced back is all the more difficult the greater the differences between the attested meanings are – and, conversely, the more languages in which a possible basic meaning is attested, the more likely it is that this reflects the inherited situation.

The aim of the present contribution is a twofold one. On the one hand, to analyse a set of IE lexemes which may be understood as perception or as cognition verbs, or as both: It is commonly assumed that the general trend in the semantic development of verbal lexicon is from perception to cognition, but the evidence from the attested languages will make evident the existence of other, fairly unpredictable paths, some of which are attested in different languages and may be inherited. On the other hand, an attempt will be made to explain the semantics of PIE **b^{h}eh$_{2}$-* 'to shine' and 'to speak, utter', which are commonly traced back to two different roots, focusing on two points: (a) the variety of meanings of its reflexes, which have some parallels in other verbs of shining (**leu̯k-* or **b^{h}elH-* and others, cf. ONorse *Baldr* [GN], OHG *Balder* : **bolH-r-o-* 'endowed with light' [Ginevra 2021]), among others, 'to rule, be prominent' (Hom. φώς, also Phryg. GN *Bas* [Obrador-Cursach 2017]), 'to speak, utter' (← 'make oneself visible': Lat. *fateor, -ērī*, Hom. φάτο [and ἔφη] vs. φαίνω 'make visible') can be explained as secondary, translational meanings conditioned by different factors (diathesis, semantic transitivity, animacy); (b) the occasional, but not fortuitous connection with reflexes of **h$_{1}$ar-/h$_{1}$r-* 'to fit together' (Hitt. adv. *āra-* '(it is) right', Ved. *ṛtá-*, Av. *aṣa-* 'right(ness)', also Ved. *ṛṇá-* 'revenge, punishment',

‘misdeed’ (: ‘to be fitted’ [García Ramón 2023], Gk. ἄρετή ‘excellence’ [Massetti 2013]), as seen in the binomial HLuv. *a-ra-pa-ta* /ara – bata-/ ‘fitting – X shining (right)’ (**h₁oreh₂-*/**h₁oro-* – **bʰə₂-to-*) matching Toch B *ere pāte* : A *ärämpāt*, as well as in Iran. **ṛta-bhānu-* (: Ἀρτά-βανος Hdt. Ἀρτά-βας Aesch.) and Gk. WN Φανο-δίκᾱ (Barnes 2022–2023).

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Interactive second arguments in Ancient Greek: Evidence for constructional merger

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In recent years, a number of studies have tackled the issue of language change in the framework of diachronic Construction Grammar. There is currently broad consensus on viewing linguistic changes as "network changes", through which network nodes can be created, lost or modified (Sommer & Smirnova 2020: 3). Among dynamics that affect the structure of networks and the relation between nodes is the Constructional Convergence Hypothesis proposed in Torrent (2015). In my paper I discuss A(ncient) G(reek) two-place verbs with dative second arguments instantiating the NomDat argument structure construction in (1).
They mostly indicate events that involve human second participants with a smaller group of verbs with inanimate second participants. Comparison with other ancient I(ndo)-E(uropean) languages shows that the AG dative was the merger of the PIE dative, instrumental and locative, and that verbs in (1) party took the dative and partly took the instrumental before the merger, i.e. the AG NomDat construction goes back to PIE *NomDat and *NomInst (Chantraine 1981: 67; Delbrück 1911). Based on comparative evidence, the PIE *NomDat construction highlighted the human character of the second participant (Chantraine 1981: 67-74), while in the *NomInst construction the place of the second argument could contain both animate and inanimate fillers, due to the comitative/instrumental meaning of the instrumental case (Chantraine 1981: 74-77). Verbs with the NomDat construction in both ancient and modern IE languages conform to the definition of interaction verbs in Blume (1998). Human interaction events are characterized by low transitivity (Croft 2022: 224). Indeed, a common feature of all verbs in (1) is that the second participant does not undergo a change of state, while the first participant is most often a controller, intentionally bringing about the event. Human second participants are either actively involved in the event (1a), (1b), or more or less favorably affected by it (1c), (1d) (Luraghi 2020: 70-71), but do not share the properties of prototypical patients, hence such events do not show agent-patient asymmetry (Blume 1998).They may also be construed as potentially

reactive in the case in which the first participant is an experiencer (1e) (Luraghi & Sausa 2015). Inanimate second participants are manipulated entities (1f) or concomitant states of affairs that play the role of reason (1g). Such mostly inanimate entities are used by the first participant to bring about an event i.e. they contribute to its accomplishment (1f); in the case of experiential verbs they prompt a mental state in the experiencer, which often appears to be at least partly controlled (1g).

I argue that the NomDat construction must be viewed as built up by a constructional network, which emerged in connection with case syncretism as the result of constructional merger, and that the resulting constructional network has the possible interactive character of the two participants involved in the situation as its focus. I also argue that the merger of the IE NomDat and NomLoc construction in AG resulted in an homonymous NomDat construction which was disambiguated through verbal prefixes and early replacement through prepositional phrases (Chantraine 1981).

Data

(1) Verbs with the NomDat construction (sample): (a) inherently reciprocal verbs: (*antiázō* 'meet with' *mákhomai* 'fight'); (b) communication verbs: *aggéllō* 'announce', *légō* 'say', *hupokrínomai* 'reply', (c) verbs of helping: *amúnō* 'defend, protect', *eparḗgō* 'come to aid' (d) verbs of command: (d_i) human second arguments (*keleúō* 'order', *kratéō* 'rule') (d_{ii}) animate/inanimate second arguments *arkheúō* 'command', *basileúō* 'reign';); (e) verbs of anger (*koloómai* 'be angry at'); (f) verbs with inanimate (occasionally animate) second arguments: manipulation verbs *khráomai* 'use'; (g) rejoicing and grieving *khaírō* 'rejoice', *lupéō* 'grieve'.

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Panel talks

The Indo-European root *h_1es- 'to be' from a typological perspective

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In most Indo-European languages the same verb 'to be' has both grammatical (copulative) and lexical (locative, existential) functions (cf. Stassen 1997). Traditionally, it has often been thought that there is no continuity or natural and necessary relationship between the copula and the existential verb 'to be', and that it is only by coincidence that most IE languages use the same lexical item for both (Benveniste 1960). From a synchronic perspective, it is in fact challenging to identify how these functions relate to one another. Moreover, it has been claimed that the diachronic perspective cannot shed any light on the nature and function of the Indo-European root *h_1es- 'to be', because both copula and existential uses are already attested in the earliest stage of Greek and of every Indo-European language (Kahn 2003[1973]: 199). Given these considerations, it is worth asking whether a typological perspective, both synchronic and diachronic, could shed light on the issue. Cross-linguistically, the copula and the locative verb 'to be' may trace back to the same stem, although languages exhibit wide lexical and grammatical variation in the way they encode these two functions. Indeed, the expression of nominal *vs* locational or existential predication is often different, and both verbal and (pro)nominal strategies are used to distinguish between lexical and copulative meanings. Interestingly, it is widely held that verbal copulas originate from former locative verbs as well as from deictic demonstrative or pronominal forms, with 'copularization' entailing a gradual loss of locative meaning (Stassen 1997: 94). In particular, the source of the copula can be a demonstrative, reanalyzed as a copula from a topic-comment construction in which the topical NP is resumed by an anaphoric demonstrative (Li & Thompson 1977; cf. Schields 1997: 178; cf. Pustet 2003). This path of development has been traditionally interpreted as a process of grammaticalization (Diessel 1999; cf. Lionnet 2012). In this paper I will suggest that the original value of IE *h_1es- was that of a deictic predicative demonstrative (cf. Dixon 2003; Lionnet 2014; Killian 2022), which was initially underspecified as to whether it served a (pro)nominal

or a verbal demonstrative function (Bartolotta 2023). In other words, depending on the syntactic and pragmatic context, this deictic locational root exhibited a category switching within the continuum between verbal and non-verbal predicates, gradually developing through a process of polygrammaticalization (cf. Craig 1991). I will examine the etymology of IE *h_1es- through the typological lens of predicative demonstratives, drawing on data from both non-Indo-European and Indo-European languages, with a focus on Ancient Greek.

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The etymology of Ἐρινύς in light of Indo-European phraseology

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Ἐρινύς is the name of a deity of vengeance and punishment for crimes against kin and relatives. The name often occurs in the plural, as the Ἐρινύες were considered a group of minor deities. Since Homeric epic, this figure has played a role in restoring balance whenever it was broken, but it was in the tragedies of Aeschylus – most notably in the Oresteia – that these figures became of central importance in certain mythological episodes.

The aim of the present talk is to argue for a new etymology of the theonym Ἐρινύς. Leaving aside the ancient etymological analyses, which have been mostly discussed in Zerhoch (2015: 338-343), the most convincing interpretation so far is the one proposed by Neumann (1986), who reconstruct its PIE etymology as **eri-snh₁-u*, thus pointing to a verbal-governing compound, formed with a first member related to ἔρις 'strife' and a secondo member reflecting the PIE verbal root **sneh₁-* 'to weave' (*LIV*²: 571), and with the meaning 'the one who weaves strife'. Although formally conceivable, the semantics of the name does not match the main characteristics of Ἐρινύς, who is said to punish those who commit crimes – mainly against their own kin – instead of creating new conflicts (on this point see also Beekes 2010: 458-59). The recent hypothesis proposed by Janda (2020: 513) reconstructs the form **hᵢri-nu* as a compound of PIE **hᵢri-* 'retribution' and a verbal element connected with Ancient Greek νεύω 'to nod' and PIE **neu̯-* 'to nod' (*LIV*²: 455). On this basis, Janda associates the Ἐρινύες with the matrimonial sphere, suggesting that they would award the bride as a prize by nodding their heads. However, this interpretation finds little and limited support in the textual evidence.

I thus argue for a new interpretation of Ἐρινύς as a compound reflecting PIE **seri-snuH-s* with the meaning 'the one with a strong cry'. The first member of the compound would be the locative form **sér-i* of PIE **sér* 'above' (on which see Dunkel 2014: 682), which appears in Greek as first member in various compounds pertaining to the semantic field of (LOUD) NOISE (e.g. ἐριβόας 'loud-shouting' or

ἐριβρεμέτης ‘loud-thundering’). The second member would reflect a zero grade-root noun **snū-s* from PIE **(s)neu̯H-* ‘to cry, scream’ attested only in composition, as frequent with this category (Chantraine 1933: 4). This root appears in *LIV*²: 456 as **neu̯H-* and is reconstructed via Sanskrit and Tocharian parallels (e.g. Ved. *anāvan* ‘they screamed’; Toch. B. *ñewetär* ‘he screams’), but I propose to reconstruct it adding an *-s-* mobile, thus accounting for the long *-i-* in the name Ἐρινύς.

As for its semantics, connecting the name of Ἐρινύς to a PIE verbal root pertaining to the semantic field of (LOUD) NOISE, would match the multiple attestations in which the Ἐρινύες are associated with hymns, songs and cries. Moreover, Erinyes may be linked to other groups of female figures frequently associated with NOISE, both in Ancient Greek tradition, as the Maenads, or in other Indo-European cultures: in Old Norse poetry one can think of the *Dísir*, minor goddesses linked to death and said to be *dynfúsir* ‘eager for the din’; in Vedic, the verb *nū-* ‘to scream’, another reflex of PIE **(s)neu̯H-*, is frequently attested in contexts where groups of female figures are said to be screaming or chanting. Analysing Ἐρινύς as a compound with the meaning ‘the one with a strong cry’, thus connecting those deities to NOISE, would allow us to group the Ἐρινύες together with other Indo-European female characters and hypothesise that the motif of loud and screaming female figures may have been inherited as a common mythological (or cultural) theme.

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Subjecthood and subject properties in Indo-European

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This contribution reassesses the morphosyntactic behavior of subject arguments across the main branches of Indo-European, aiming to reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European inventory of subject properties. In much previous work, this topic has mainly been addressed in the context of oblique subjects (cf. e.g., Barðdal 2024, Barðdal et al. 2023, Conti 2010), although a few studies has focused primarily on subjecthood properties in one or a small number of Indo-European languages (cf. e.g., Dahl 2023, Fabrizio 2025). To date, however, there has been no systematic exploration of subjecthood and subjecthood properties in all the Indo-European branches and an important aim of the present project is to remedy this situation. Data are collected from the earliest and best attested varieties of each main branch of Indo-European.

The present study relies to a large extent of the ground-breaking study of Falk (2006), where several subject properties are distinguished. Drawing on works like Van Valin (2005) and Witzlack-Makarevich (2018), however, the notion of subjecthood property is presently restricted to morphosyntactic behavioural patterns that uniquely select the first argument of bivalent and trivalent predicates (A) and the sole argument of monovalent predicates (S), excluding the second argument of bivalent predicates (P) and the second (T) and third (R) arguments of trivalent predicates. This methodological choice is motivated by the fact that all the languages/varieties under scrutiny have predominantly nominative-accusative alignment, in some cases alternating with other, in particular neutral and/or ergative-absolutive, alignment types. Several languages display (remnants of) an alignment system with an NP-based split between nominative-accusative and neutral alignment, a system that probably may be reconstructed for the proto-language (cf. Dahl 2022) for discussion. Interestingly, there is considerable variation between the individual branches with respect to what morphosyntactic features constitute subjecthood properties *sensu stricto*, a fact taken by Cotticelli and Dahl (2022) to reflect different degrees of what they label ‘accusativization’, i.e., a gradual acquisition of nominative-accusative morphosyntax. It will be argued that that only a restricted number of subjecthood properties can be

reconstructed with confidence for Proto-Indo-European and that the considerable variation shown among the languages in this area of morphosyntax is indicative of its dynamic and emerging character.

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Spells and Speech Acts in Pre-Classical Anatolia: Verbs of Saying in Hittite Magical Texts

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The archives of the Hittite capital have provided us with a significant collection of magical texts. The most important are the magical rituals, indicated by the Sumerian term SISKUR. Magical practices aim to achieve a desired effect through symbolism, typically in the form of a verbal utterance (such as a spell), which may be accompanied by a ritualised action involving an object or a specific combination of ingredients. These ritual performances, which involve a combination of verbal utterances and object manipulation, constitute performative acts. Utterance is part of performing an action. This is particularly evident in ritual contexts, where words can instantly create a new reality. After reciting traditional formulas in a ritualised setting, the status quo is altered.

The specialisation of a 'verb of saying' to 'magical act' or 'magic' is a frequent occurrence in ancient Indo-European languages. 'Singing' may also have specialised, as seen in the large groups represented by NE *incantation*, *enchant* (Lat. *canere* 'sing'), *charm* (the magical sense of which is the earlier; through French, Lat. *carmen* 'song'); Grk. *aoidḗ* 'song' sometimes 'enchantment, spell'. Our word 'incantation' suggests something sung or chanted, and similar vocabulary is used for spells and songs in several Indo-European traditions. In Greek, an incantation is *epaoidḗ*, *epōidḗ* 'singing over' something or someone, and the corresponding verb is *epaeídō*. The Italic and Celtic languages share the root **kan-* (LIV^2, 342-343). In Latin, we find *cano, canto, cantus* and *carmen*, all of which relate to magical incantations as well as of singing in general. In Irish, *canaid* 'sings' is often used to refer to the utterance of incantations. In Old Norse, the ordinary word for 'song', *lió*D, can also mean a spell. A 'wailer' may become a 'wizard' (Grk. *góēs*).

The aim of this paper is to examine the verbs of saying used in Hittite magical rituals, paying particular attention to their etymology and phraseology. The analysis will consider two levels: the lexical level, which focuses on the lexical system (i.e., the vocabulary), and the pragmatic level, which investigates how

language is used to achieve objectives in specific situations. Fruitful research perspectives at the lexical level include comparing the follwing verbs: *ḫuek-* 'to conjure, treat by incantation' (with either dat. or acc.; see also the figura etymologica *ḫūkmain ḫuek-* 'to utter a conjuration'), *ḫurt-/ḫuwart-* 'to curse', *mema-* 'to recite (an incantation or prayer)', and *te-/tar-* 'to speak'. Even in Hittite, verbs relating to speech undergo semantic specialisation. For instance, the denominative verb *uddanalliya-* 'to speak about, conjure, bewitch' is derived from the oblique stem *uddan-* (and the suffixed *uddanalla-*) of *uttar* 'thing; matter; word, speech'.

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Thinking the mind: metaphors, collocations, and pragmatic functions of Latin *mens*

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Previous research has demonstrated that many concepts within the semantic domain of 'cognition' in Latin, including the concept of 'mind', are primarily expressed through conceptual metaphors (Short 2008, 2012; Devereaux 2018). However, little attention has been paid to which specific lexical means and morphosyntactic structures are used to instantiate such metaphors, and on the role they have in discourse. Building upon these premises, this study explores the close interconnection between the linguistic strategies used by Latin writers to refer to cognitive experiences involving their mind (*mens*) through collocations – like *in m. venire, in m. incidere* or *in m. esse* – and the conceptual metaphors possibly underlying them. Additionally, since *mens* often refers to individuals' internal 'store of knowledge', this research also aims to understand the function that such collocations and metaphorical uses have within dialogues, where they may refer to the speaker's or the interlocutor's knowledge, which is nonetheless subject to negotiation and change during the co-construction of discourse.

The analysis adopts a corpus-based approach, beginning with a systematic data collection regarding the type, frequency, and distribution of verb-noun collocations involving the lemma *mens* (cf. Cruse 1986: 40–41; Baños et al. 2022: 7; see also the *Diccionario de Colocaciones Latinas*). Data are gathered through a keyword-based search within the LatinISE corpus on Sketch Engine, limited to the chronological span from the 2nd century BCE to the 5th century CE. With a further annotation of the data collected, we examine in particular:

(i) the formal features distinguishing various collocations in relation to their morphosyntactic structures;

(ii) the conceptual metaphors possibly associated with such collocations (e.g., THE MIND IS A CONTAINER for *in mentem incidere*);

(iii) different pragmatic functions that emerge when these collocations are used in discursive contexts, such as dialogues in comedies. For instance, an analysis of

the 27 occurrences of *in m. venire/esse* in Plautine plays reveals that in approximately one out of four cases (especially within interrogative sentences, and/or when the role of COGNIZER is assigned not to the speaker, but to the interlocutor) the collocation is employed with a strong persuasive or reproachful intent. This is exemplified in Plautus' *Bacchides* (680–682):

> CHRYS. *Reddidisti?* MNE. *Reddidi*. CHRYS. *Omnene?* MNE. *Oppido*. CHRYS. *Occisi sumus.*
> *qui* ***in mentem venit tibi*** *istuc facinus facere tam malum?*
>
> CHRYS. *You've returned it?* MNE. *Yes, I have*. CHRYS. *All?* MNE. *Yes*. CHRYS. *We're dead.*
> ***How did it occur to you*** *to commit such a horrible crime?*

This study ultimately highlights how the metaphors involved in the collocations that we investigate serve not only as a cognitive tool for conceptualizing complex entities like the 'mind' but also as a strategic resource in the dynamics of conversational co-construction and interpersonal stance-taking.

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Resources

DiCoLat – Diccionario de Colocaciones Latinas: https://dicolat.iatext.ulpgc.es/ (last access: 29/11/2025)

Sketch Engine: https://www.sketchengine.eu/ (last access: 29/11/2025)

The Hesiodic compound ἀλεξιάρη

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The compound ἀλεξιάρη, meaning ‘that guards from death and ruin, that protects from curses’, is attested only in Hes. *Op.* 464, as an adjective of νειός ‘fallow land’, and in Nic. *Th.* 861, a line probably dependent on the Hesiodic one, as shown by the identical metrical position (∪, ^{2}– ∪∪, ^{3}–) of the compound.
Morphologically, its first constituent may be traced back to the PIE root **h₂elk-*, **h₂lek-s-* ‘to keep away, to protect’ (cf. ἀλέξω ‘ward off; defend’), while its second constituent is related to the noun ἀρή ‘ruin’ (whose etymology is debated).
This adjective, however, displays both an unexpected linking vowel and an anomalous feminine ending. The form with the expected linking vowel would have been **ἀλεξάρη (cf. ἀλεξάνεμος), which, however, is ametric (∪– ∪–). It is therefore likely that ἀλεξιάρη was influenced by its more widespread synonym ἀλεξίκακος, which occupies the same metrical position as ἀλεξιάρη (∪, ^{2}– ∪∪, ^{3}–).
Regarding its ending, the expected form would have been -ης / -ᾱς (< **-eh₂-s*), as shown by other compounds following the inflection of masculine nouns in **-ā-* (< **-eh₂-*), regularly formed with the singular masculine nominative marker **-s* borrowed from other stem classes (cf. ἰθυδίκης, ου ‘giving right judgement’).
With respect to phraseology, the collocation [KEEP AWAY– EVIL] is widely attested, with the concept [KEEP AWAY] evoked by the verbs ἀλέξω, ἀμύνω, ἀπαλέξω, ἀπαμύνω, ἀπείργω and ἀπωθέω, while [EVIL] by nouns such as ἀρή, κακός, κακότης, λοιγός, μόρος, νόσος and πόνος in the accusative.
This construction is also represented by a number of lexical parallels, such as ἀλεξίκακος (‘keeping off ill’, Hom.+), ἀλεξίμορος (‘warding off death’, Soph.), ἀλεξίπονος (‘warding off pain’, Soph.). The Mycenaean personal name *pu₂-ke-qi-ri* /*Pʰuge-gʷrī(n)-s*/ (*Φυγέβρῑς) ‘who escapes/d a heavy thing’ (PY Ta 711.1+) may also be compared, where the ‘heavy thing’ could refer, following García Ramón’s interpretation (2009: 10-23), to a spear, to evil or misfortune, or – less likely – to an enemy (either a man or the god Ares).
A comparable formation is also found in Vedic *yāvayád-dveṣas-* ‘that wards off hostile powers’, applied to the dawn in RV 1.113.12a and RV 4.52.4a.

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Distance Makes the Heart Grow Fonder:
On the Etymology of Ancient Greek ἔραμαι ‘desire, love’ and Latin *dēsīderō* ‘miss, desire’

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The Ancient Greek verb ἔραμαι ‘desire, love’ (with a genitive object) has been traced by Weiss (1998) back to a Narten indirect reflexive middle **h₁erh₂-toi* ‘divide (for oneself)’, derived from a PIE verbal root **h₁erh₂-* ‘divide’ (cf. Lithuanian *ìrti* ‘disintegrate, separate’) via an intermediate semantic development from a primary sense ‘divide (for oneself)’ to a secondary one ‘enjoy’, hence ‘love’ (as in English *I enjoy football*).

I will argue instead for the reconstruction of a different semantic development: as suggested by cognates such as Hittite *arḫa* ‘away, out’ (constructionally equivalent to Ancient Greek ἀπό and Latin *ab*; Covini 2017:129; 144), ἔραμαι originally meant ‘to be separated’ (as the reflex of a Narten middle stative or passive formation of the type of Vedic *stáv-e* ‘to be praised’), and later underwent a semantic evolution in two steps, both with several parallels: (1) from ‘be separated from’ to ‘lack’ (e.g. Latin *careō* ‘lack’ from ‘be cut off from’, as a reflex of PIE **ḱes-*; *LIV*²:329), and (2) from ‘lack’ to ‘desire’ (e.g. English *want* itself, which mainly meant ‘lack’ until the 18th century; *OED*, s.v.). The genitive-object construction of ἔραμαι may be further linked to the Proto-Greek syncretism of the ablative and genitive cases.

A close parallel for this evolution may be found in Latin *dēsīder-ō*, *-āre* ‘miss, desire’, a verb that is clearly related to Latin *sīdus, -eris* ‘constellation, star, season’. Building on a suggestion by Greenough (1890), I will trace Latin *sīdus* back to an inherited formation **sēd-os-/-es-* ‘seat, act of sitting’, which also underlies Old Irish *síd* ‘fairy mound’, and argue that an original meaning ‘seat’ explains most of the attested senses and constructions of Latin *sīdus* and Old Irish *síd*, as well as the semantics of its compounds *dē-sīder-ō* ‘miss, desire’ (originally ‘be located away from’) and *con-sīder-ō* ‘to contemplate’, whose metaphoric background has been briefly discussed by Short (2008). A further development led from the ablative-object construction expected for verbs of lacking (e.g. *careō,*

egeō) to the attested accusative-object construction, frequent for verbs of desire (e.g. *cupiō, volō*, *optō*; Fedriani-Dahl 2012:352-353).

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When Adjectives Name Kinds: Classificatory ADJECTIVE + NOUN Expressions in Indo-European

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It is a widespread pattern in the languages of the world to use combinations of ADJECTIVE + NOUN either as ordinary adjectival phrases or as compound expressions serving to name established classes of entities (Warren 1984; Booij 2002). The contrast between these two options is illustrated in (1), where Dutch exemplifies the phrasal strategy and German the compound strategy.

(1)

Dutch	German	
rode wijn	*Rotwein*	'red wine'
blauwe bes	*Blaubeere*	'blueberry'

In these cases, the combinations do not denote arbitrary entities that merely happen to possess the property expressed by the adjective. Rather, they refer to conventionalized subtypes: red wine is a recognized category of wine opposed to white wine and rosé wine, and a blueberry is a particular kind of berry. Expressions of this type therefore serve a classificatory function. Crucially, this function differs from the usual role of adjectival modification, which consists in attributing a contingent property to a noun's referent (e.g., *a blue tie*, *red houses*, etc.). The contrast becomes clear when considering that unripe blueberries are green rather than blue – yet even green blueberries remain blueberries. Conversely, painting a strawberry blue produces a blue berry, but not a blueberry. It is, therefore, useful (as done by Warren 1984) to distinguish descriptive adjectives (e.g., Dutch *een blauwe stropdas* 'a blue tie') from classifying adjectives (e.g., Dutch *een blauwe bes* 'a blueberry').

In this talk, the focus will be precisely on such classifying adjectives and classificatory expressions in Indo-European, a topic that has received surprisingly little systematic attention despite its typological and historical relevance. The discussion is organized around two main questions. First, what types of adjectives are typically employed as classifying adjectives? Cross-linguistically, these are often denominal, especially relational adjectives, as illustrated by Latin *navis onerāria* 'cargo ship' and Ancient Greek ταυρικὸν ζεῦγος 'team of oxen'. In some

cases, the frequent association of a classifying adjective with a specific head noun may give rise to ellipsis and subsequent substantivization, as in Ancient Greek τὸ ταυρικόν ‘team of oxen’ (cf. Höfler 2020).

The second focus concerns the formal marking of classifying adjectives. What morphological means, if any, do languages employ to signal classificatory rather than descriptive modification? Ancient Greek, for instance, makes use of masculine adjectives in -ης/-ᾱς in classifying contexts (e.g. Βορέης ἄνεμος ‘North Wind’, γαλαξίας κύκλος ‘Milky Way’, καπνίας λίθος ‘smoky quartz’; Redard 1949), a suffix that is otherwise rare with descriptive adjectives (Höfler 2022). Latvian provides a different strategy: classifying adjectives obligatorily appear in the definite form (Kalnača & Lokmane 2021; cf. also Rutkowski & Progovac 2005 for Slavic, Rutkowski & Progovac 2006 for Lithuanian), even when the noun phrase as a whole is indefinite, as shown in (2).

(2) Latvian *balts* *lācis* ‘a white bear’
white.IDF bear
baltais *lācis* ‘a polar bear’ (or ‘the white bear’ or ‘the
white.DEF bear polar bear’)

Taken together, these observations suggest that Indo-European languages deploy a range of morphosyntactic strategies to distinguish classificatory from descriptive modification. This raises the question of how, and to what extent, such a distinction can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European.

As an aside, assuming that classificatory expressions in Proto-Indo-European were primarily formed by phrasal ADJECTIVE + NOUN constructions provides a natural explanation for the apparent scarcity of determinative ADJECTIVE + NOUN compounds in the earliest attested Indo-European languages.

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*-*tero*- derivatives from nouns in Indo-European languages: semantics and reconstruction

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The discussion will focus on *-*tero*- derivatives from nouns. These fall into various sub-categories in the different IE languages. The first category has a predicative meaning (RV *vīrátara*- "who is a hero as opposed to others", Gr. βασιλεύτερος "who is king as opposed to others", θηλύτεραι "who is female as opposed to males"), which is identical to the function of the suffix when added to an adjective (Hom. νεώτεροι "who are young as opposed to others"). This type developed a comparative meaning in Greek (βασιλεύτερος "kinglier", hence a superlative βασιλεύτατος), with **N-tero*- following the development of **Adj.-tero*-. A second category, attested in Greek and in Iranian but unknown in Indo-Aryan, has a possessive meaning (Myc. wa-na-ka-te-ro . te-me-no "*temenos* of the *wanax* as opposed to others", Av. *ušastara*- "belonging to dawn, eastern", Lat. *auster* "south wind", *matertera* "belonging to the mother, maternal aunt, as opposed to the *amita*, paternal aunt"). A third category has the meaning "X-like" (AV *aśvatará*- "mule", lit. "horse-like", Gr. κύντερος "dog-like" — with a comparative meaning in Homer, "more dog-like"). This third type does not seem to be attested in Latin, and *matertera*, classified there by Leumann (1977) and Weiss (2009), rather belongs to the possessive type. Although the possessive meaning is unattested in Indo-Aryan (Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.*), it is probably inherited, as shown by forms derived from pronouns (Lat. *noster* / Gr. ἡμέτερος / OIr. *nathar* 'of us two'), and a trace of it may be identified in Sanskrit in anthroponymy. In Greek, possessive *-*tero*- derivatives from nouns, which are a recessive type, are sometimes paired with masculine nouns in *-*teh₂*- (ἀγρότερος/ἀγρότης, ὀρέστερος/ὀρέστης, Myc. po-ku-te-ro/po-ku-ta, see Leukart 1994).

I will argue that the primitive meaning of the suffix when it was added to a noun was "belonging to the category of X as opposed to others", from which the three attested meanings can be derived: the semantic development depends on whether the *-*tero*- derivative qualifies an animate or an inanimate noun, on the meaning

of the base noun, and on the semantic relationship between the base noun and the noun qualified by the derivative. I will also present a new example from Homeric Greek that has not been identified before, displaying the possessive value and the same pairing with a noun in *-*teh₂*-.

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Cerebrate, Cogitate, Think: Mapping the Semantic Neighbourhood of ‘Reasoning’ in the Latin WordNet

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The integration of a manually curated iteration of the Latin WordNet (LWN) within LiLa (Mambrini et al. 2020), a Knowledge Base (KB) of interoperable linguistic resources for Latin, can offer a significant contribution to the exploration of a semantic mapping of the classical language. By leveraging the Linked Data architecture of LiLa, the aim of this preliminary study is to move beyond the mere identification of synonyms or the analysis of isolated lexical entries and attempt to provide the starting point for a comprehensive semantic mapping of the Latin linguistic landscape. Specifically, this study examines the phenomenon of co-lexification, intended as the sharing of lemmas across distinct LWN synsets, to model the structural representation of semantic overlaps and the conceptual organisation of the Latin lexicon.

This research involved a preparatory phase to transform raw lexical data into an interpretable network: we define the degree of co-lexification as the extent to which distinct LWN synsets share common lemmas. Utilising the SPARQL endpoint of the LiLa KB, we extracted pairs of LWN synsets sharing lemmas. For each pair, we extracted the specific list of lemmas they have in common, creating a relational dataset of shared lexicality. For each synset pair, a value of weight of this lemma overlap was computed. The resulting relational data was processed and formatted for graph-based analysis. Using Gephi, an open-source platform for visual network analysis (https://gephi.org/), we generated a network visualisation where nodes represent synsets and edges represent shared lemmas, with edge weights reflecting the degree of co-lexification. For the current study, the initial query was restricted to verbal synsets and furtherly focussed specifically on the conceptual cluster surrounding the act of "reasoning”. This is centered on the WordNet synset 00630153-v, described by the gloss: "use or exercise the mind or one's power of reason in order to make inferences, decisions, or arrive at a solution or judgments”. This synset, associated with English *cerebrate*, *cogitate*, and *think*, is evoked in LWN by a longer list of Latin lemmas including *arbitror*, *cogito*,

censeo, and *puto*, among others. The preliminary observations focus on the closest network of this synset: by selecting all nodes connected through shared lemmas at a one-step distance from the given synset, we effectively isolate the immediate semantic neighbourhood of the "use or exercise the mind" concept. This specific visualization excludes distant nodes that do not maintain a direct or secondary connection to the starting point, allowing for a concentrated analysis of the closest neighbours in the semantic map. To calculate semantic sub-communities, we use the Louvain Method (Blondel et al. 2008) and adjust the level of community detection to find linguistically significant similarities causing synset grouping.

This preliminary exploration demonstrates how the integration of the Latin WordNet within the LiLa Knowledge Base, combined with network analysis of co-lexification, can reveal latent conceptual structures in the Latin lexicon and pave the way for a more comprehensive semantic mapping of the language.

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Definite Article Omission in Classical Greek Coordination

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This study investigates the omission of the definite article in coordinated noun phrases in Classical Greek, focusing on the alternation between fully articulated (Art N and Art N) and partially articulated (Art N and N) constructions. Building on previous work on definite article omission with unique nouns (Zampetta 2023, 2025), we examine whether this alternation reflects coordination reduction (Haspelmath 2007) rather than idiomaticity and assess the role of semantic and pragmatic relatedness in its distribution. Our main hypothesis is that greater semantic relatedness between conjuncts favors the partially articulated construction (Art N and N).

Our analysis is based on a dataset extracted from the Glaux corpus (Keersmaekers 2021), restricted to Classical historiographical prose (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon). From an initial set of c. 17,500 coordinated NPs, we excluded proper nouns, prepositional phrases, fully bare constructions and correlative constructions. The remaining 197 instances were annotated in INCEpTION through a combined workflow: automatic extraction of formal features (coordination link, separability, modifiability, agreement, morphological features of coordinated nouns) and manual annotation of semantic properties, including noun type (concrete, abstract, etc.), frame membership, and binomial type. For the binomial type annotation, we adapted to Classical Greek the tripartite classification proposed by Lambrecht (1984) and Masini (2008), distinguishing irreversible, pre-schematized, and contextual pairs. Irreversible pairs correspond to fully fixed and lexicalized combinations, whose order cannot be permuted; their identification in a corpus language requires dictionary-based evidence and extensive verification. Pairs were labeled pre-schematized when the two coordinated nouns could be associated with a shared FrameNet frame (Fillmore et al. 2003; Fillmore & Petruck 2003), that is, when their conceptual relatedness could be grounded in a conventional semantic structure. Finally, contextual pairs are those for which no shared frame could be detected and whose pairing is

therefore motivated by discourse or situational factors rather than by stable semantic organization. Since the use of FrameNet – whose structure is based on Modern English – may be partially problematic for annotating Ancient Greek, we complemented this approach by testing semantic relatedness through lemma embeddings trained on the Glaux corpus.

The data show that these constructions exhibit substantial formal variability and a fully compositional semantics, which rule out an idiomatic interpretation. Syntactic factors (size of subtrees, distance between conjuncts, structural complexity) do not condition the alternation. By contrast, two factors emerge as statistically relevant: animacy of nouns, and semantic relatedness between the conjuncts, with partially articulated constructions showing a tendency to involve nouns that are more closely aligned semantically. While cosine similarity does not reach statistical significance, embeddings reveal a more compact distribution for the partially articulated construction (Art N and N), supporting the hypothesis that article omission is favored when the two conjuncts form a semantically coherent pairing.

This study provides new evidence for how Classical Greek manages the syntax-semantics interface of coordination constructions and shows how such patterns can be captured through a transparent and reproducible annotation workflow.

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Athena *Mentor*:
Thinking about the Finale of the *Odyssey*

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In this paper, I argue that *Odyssey* 24.413–548 contains themes and elements, which, in other Indo-European traditions, occur within narratives studied and described by Ginevra (2024): Agastya Mānya halting a fight between Indra and the Maruts (*Rigveda*); Menenius Agrippa resolving a conflict between *patricii* and the *plebs* in Rome (Livy); Kvasir embodying the end of the conflict between Æsir and Vanir (*Gylfaginning*). In all these episodes, a character acts as a mediator between a patron/leader and a group of alienated friends/allies. Moreover, according to Ginevra's analysis, the mediator character of Vedic, Germanic, and Latin stories

a. is usually a male-character, who descends from male parents only;
b. bears a name etymologically connected with the Indo-European root **men-* 'to think';
c. is close to both groups in the conflict, the groups being from well-established traditional elements of each culture (leaders vs. allies);
d. provides conflict resolution through presenting or representing a set of mutual obligations;
e. is associated with poetic art.

The finale of the *Odyssey* checks almost all these boxes. Besides adding *Odyssey* 24.413–548 as a comparandum to the Vedic, Latin and Germanic material, I will further try to add a possible term of comparison, which is common to three of the four comparanda: reference to the semantic field of food and food-consumption is embedded in the conflicts.

In providing a new analysis of the episode in which the root for 'think' is central, the paper makes an attempt at casting light on the archaism of themes treated in a section of the *Odyssey*, which was considered as 'unauthentic' text from Antiquity. Although the authenticity of the passage can in no way be established through this study, my analysis stimulates reflection on this and other passages in

the *Odyssey* in which Athena intervenes in the guise of characters with *men-* names (Mentes, Mentor).

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Prefixed *uerba dicendi* as resultatives in Greek and Latin

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Verbal composition, albeit prominent in research (see recently Zanchi 2019, with lit.), remains not fully understood. One distinction accepted by the *communis opinio* concerns the relation between the overall meaning of the compound and its components: The overall meaning is said to be 'compositional' when it can be accounted for as the simple 'sum' of the components (: Gk βάλλω 'throw' ⟶ ἀποβάλλω 'throw away') and 'non-compositional' when this is not the case (: Gk λαμβάνω 'take' ⟶ ὑπολαμβάνω 'retort' Pl.+). In some cases, one can easily analyse the non-compositional meanings as metaphorical extensions of compositional ones (: Gk ὑπολαμβάνω 'retort' ⟵ 'take up what is said'); in others, however, the origin of the non-compositional meaning(s) remains unclear. One such case is ἀποκηρύσσω. **Formally**, the compound is made up of the ablative preverb ἀπο- (: PREP ἀπό = 'from, away from') and the denominative verb κηρύσσω 'proclaim' (: κῆρυξ 'herald'). **Functionally**, however, the evidence implies meanings that seem *prima facie* incompatible with either ἀπό or κηρύσσω as well as with each other, namely [1]'auction', [2]'prohibit' and [3]'reject'.

Following Mendes Venturott (2025: 284ff.), the paper explores the possibility of accounting for these different meanings—i.e., this **functional** diversity—by taking the semantics expected on **formal** grounds at face value: ἀπο⁼κηρύσσω = *'proclaim⁼away', from which the attested meanings could have developed. On this basis, ἀπο⁼ κηρύσσω could be accounted for within Cognitive Construction Grammar (à la Goldberg 1995, 2006; Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004) as a transitive-resultative construction of the type X_1 CAUSE [Y_2 GO | BECOME Z_3], whereby Z_3 = ἀπό (for Z_3 = LP in Vedic, see Danesi 2013). Schematically:

X_1	CAUSE	[Y_2	GO | BECOME	Z_3]
τις$_1$	κήρυσσε	τι | τινα$_2$		ἀπό$_3$
sb.	declares	sth. | sb.		away

It becomes apparent that the overall structure of the constructional event denoted by ἀποκηρύσσω is not fundamentally different from, e.g., that denoted by ἀποβάλλω:

ἀποβάλλω	X_1 CAUSE [Y_2 GO AWAY (ἀπό)]	by THROWING
ἀποκηρύσσω	X_1 CAUSE [Y_2 GO AWAY (ἀπό)]	by DECLARING

The different meanings of ἀποκηρύσσω could then simply have arisen from the verb occurring with different objects:

[τις$_1$	κήρυσσε	τι | τινα$_2$	ἀπό$_3$]		MEANING
sb.	declares	GOODS ACTION PERSON	AWAY	→	auction prohibit reject

This could also apply to several Greek and Latin compounds whose constructional meanings have diverged completely from that of the *uerbum dicendi* that functions as their base. Examples include, to name but a few, Gk ἐκκηρύσσω ‘reject’, ἀπαγορέω ‘prohibit’, ἀπαυδάω ‘id.’, κατηγορέω ‘accuse’ etc., Lat *effor* ^{1}‘delimit’, ^{2}‘liberate’, *abdico* ‘abdicate’, *dedico* ‘dedicate’, *abrogo* ‘abrogate’, *derogo* ‘derogate’, *obrogo* ‘obrogate’ etc. If this analysis is correct, it may shed light on the often obscure relationship between verb and preverb, thereby contributing to our understanding of the historical semantics of these lexemes.

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A Cognitive Semantic Perspective on the Etymology and Poetics of κάλλος and *śrī́-*

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Insight into the Property Concept BEAUTIFUL in IE culture may be gained by considering the etymology of Vedic *śrī́-* f. 'beauty' and Greek κάλλος n. 'id.' in light of the conceptual metonymies responsible for – and the metaphors associated with – their lexical semantics.

The origin of *śrī́-*, whose association with κρειων 'lord, ruler' van Beek (2014) has undermined, is unclear. It may be analyzed as a root-noun of a *√śray̯* 'beautiful' (Rau 2009: 73), whose Proto-Indo-Iranian ancestor * *√ćRa̯iH* formed a Caland system consisting of, i.a., a positive in **-Rá-* (Ved. *a-śrīrá-* 'ugly', Av. *srīra-* 'beautiful'), a comparative in **-i̯as-* (Ved. *śréyas-* 'more b.', Av. *sraiiah-*), a superlative in **-išta-* (Ved. *śréṣṭha-* 'most b.', Av. *sraēšta-*), and the root-noun itself. Given the co-occurrence root-nouns and **-Rá-* stem adjectives (e.g. Ved. *śúbh-* 'splendor' : *śubh-rá-* 'splendid' : *śóbh-iṣṭha-* 'most s.'), it is conceivable that PIIr. * *√ćRa̯iH* (or its preform) was created by analyzing the positive as root-derived instead of its earlier status as a possessive to the root-noun **ćRiH-* 'beauty' (→ **ćRiH-Rá-* 'beauti-ful').

To etymologize **ćRiH-*, it may be proposed that its preform was an **h₂*-stem derived from an *i*-stem adjective (Nussbaum p.c.). Its form and meaning may be identified in light of the analysis of κάλλος as an *s*-stem substantive **ḱl̥-i̯-o/es-* formed from an adjective **ḱl̥-i̯-ó-* externally derived from a substantive **ḱó/él-i-* based ultimately on a PIE **√ḱel* corresponding to the Action Concept COVER (Merritt 2023a). The experiential correlation of the covering action with change in appearance conditions the use of COVERING to stand for FORM via the metonymy COVERING FOR FORM (v. Dancygier and Sweetser 2014: 100), as a function of which **ḱó/él-i-* 'covering' developed the sense 'outward appearance, form'. Once the sense 'form' was entrenched, **ḱó/él-i-* could be used in an ameliorated sense as an expression of a conceivably universal, pragmatically conditioned *genus pro specie* metonymy FORM FOR GOOD FORM (e.g. εἶδος

‘appearance’ but also ‘comeliness’, PDE *in shape*, etc.). The resulting sense was the input for the lexical semantics of a pair of possessive adjectives: **ḱl̥-i̯-ó-* and **ḱél-i-/ḱl-éi̯-*, both meaning ‘of good appearance’ (cf. Lat. *fōrmōsus* ← *fōrma*). At this stage, the word-family arguably developed a capacity to realize the PC BEAUTIFUL as an expression of HAVING GOOD FORM FOR BEAUTIFUL. Whereas **ḱl̥-i̯-ó-* ‘beautiful’ became the base of **ḱĺ̥-i̯-o/es-* (> κάλλος), it may be supposed that the internal derivative **ḱél-i-/ḱl-éi̯-* ‘id.’, in the abstract stem-shape **ḱl-i-*, became the base of the preform of *śrī́-*, namely a **ḱl-í-h₂-* ‘beauty’ (cf. **séi̯(h₁)dʰh₁-u-/sih₁dʰh₁-éu̯-* ‘straight, direct’ [> ἴθύς ‘id.’] → **sih₁dʰh₁-ú-h₂-* ‘direction’ [> ἰθῡ́ς* f. ‘id.’], Merritt 2023b: 228), whose possessive derivative, eventually analyzed as **ḱlih₂-ró-* (> *śrīrá-**), underlies the PIIr. **√ćlai̯H* corresponding to the PC BEAUTIFUL.

While this PC and the AC COVER are indirectly associated via the above-mentioned metonymies, one may ask to what extent BEAUTY itself was conceptualized by means of COVER in PIE. Given the Rigvedic use of *śrī́-* with √*vas-* ‘wear’ and √*dhā-* ‘put’ (*śríyaṃ vásāno* “dressing himself in beauty” RV 2.10.1; *víśvā ádhi śríyo dadhe* “he has laid on himself all beauties” RV 2.8.5), it is clear that Vedic poets operated with BEAUTY IS CLOTHING and BEAUTY IS A BODILY ORNAMENT. In Archaic hexameter, moreover, the use of κάλλος and χάρις with χέω and ἄημι points to BEAUTY IS A LIQUID POURED ON THE BODY (of humans) and BEAUTY IS A VAPOR SURROUNDING THE BODY (of goddesses) (e.g. αὐτὰρ κὰκ κεφαλῆς χεῦεν πολὺ κάλλος Ἀθήνη [ψ 156]; περὶ τ’ ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο [h.Cer.276]). By comparing these metaphors, one might thus “reconstruct” as an item of IE thought BEAUTY IS A COVERING. There is need of deeper discussion, however, of what standards of evidence are necessary for assigning IE status to such an image alongside the prosaic metonymies underlying much of etymology.

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Thinking “giving”, “taking”, and the exchange of wealth in Indo-European

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To a modern European, “giving” and “taking” are two separate concepts that are not necessarily interrelated. To the speakers of Proto-Indo-European, on the other hand, one is unthinkable without the other. Here, the key word is “exchange”, cf. Mallory & Adams (1997: 184-85): “exchange is viewed as reciprocal or mutual, hence balanced as a pair, rather than commercial, i.e., advantageous to only one of the parties involved”.

This worldview is mirrored in the vocabulary where the basic meaning of the root *doh_3- is generally assumed to be ‘give’ (*LIV*^{2}: 106). However, Hittite *$d\bar{a}^i$*- means ‘take, wed, decide’. This discrepancy is sometimes explained as originating from a reflexive “sich etwas geben lassen” (Eichner 1975: 93f., Oettinger 1979: 500f.; cf. also Melchert 1984: 25), but, as remarked by Kloekhorst (202: 808): “the fact that the active and middle are living categories in Hittite makes it difficult to assume that an original middle did not just stay middle but was transferred to the active category”. Consequently, it may be a more satisfactory solution to posit a PIE meaning ‘exchange’, whence on the one hand, specialization to ‘take’ in Anatolian, on the other ‘give’ in Core Indo-European.

In particular, exchange takes place in connection with marriage, as expressed in Hitt. *$d\bar{a}^i$*- beside Lat. *dōs* ‘dowry’, *dāre in matrimonium*, and in general, the inherited verbs traditionally rendered by ‘buying’ and ‘selling’ originally seem to have implied exchange of persons, be it women or slaves. In this talk, I intend to examine the development from an exchange-based society to the emergence of the concept of commerce as mirrored in the vocabulary.

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Conceptualizing Sterility and Sexual Insensitivity within Sensory-Impairment Domains in Greek and Roman Texts

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In Greek and Roman texts there are several instances in which adjectives meaning 'blind' or 'deaf' are used to describe lack of fertility or lack of sexual pleasure. For example, in Theophrast (Hist. Plant. 1.8), τυφλός 'blind' is used to describe the barren branches of a tree; in Pliny the Elder (Hist. Nat. 16.125), barren branches are also said to be *caeci* 'blind'. In other cases, κωφός 'blunt; deaf, mute' is used to define a dysfunctional – and therefore sterile – uterus (Aristotle, Hist. An. 643a.9), and *hebes* 'blunt; dull' is used to describe a genital organ lacking sensibility and unable to feel pleasure (Ovid, Ars 3.799).

These examples show a relationship between the concepts SENSORIAL IMPAIRMENT and SEXUAL IMPAIRMENT, the latter further elaborated into STERILITY and SEXUAL INSENSITIVITY.

The aim of my study is to analyse these linguistic expressions within the framework of Cognitive Classical Semantics, in which the notion of embodiment (e.g. Short 2016) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) are applied to the study of ancient texts (e.g. De Felice & Fedriani 2024). The analysis takes as its point of departure the occurrences of these expressions in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG®) and in the Library of Latin Texts (Brepols), focusing on the adjectives Lat. *caecus* 'blind', *hebes* 'blunt; dull', Gk. τυφλός 'blind', and κωφός 'blunt; deaf-mute'.

The study will consider: (1) the meanings these adjectives assume in the relevant contexts and the polysemy attested from a comparative perspective; (2) the distinction between basic meaning and metaphorical meanings, and the relations between the semantic domains observed in the different contexts; (3) the etymological hypotheses – e.g. the relation between τυφλός and Pgm. **dauba-* 'insensitive' (e.g. Heidermanns 1993: 148; Kroonen 2013: 89) – extending the comparison to other ancient Indo-European languages.

The expected outcomes concern: (a) the identification of the conceptual metaphors involved in the polysemy of these adjectives; (b) the creation of an ontology of these metaphors within the selected case studies; and (c) a better understanding of the conceptualization of sterility and sexual insensitivity in Greek and Roman culture.

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The Lands of Well-Fed Horses: Some Reflections on Gk. ἱππόβοτος

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In Homer, the compound Gk. ἱππόβοτος is attested 15 times and functions as a toponymic epithet: it qualifies the Thessalian Trikke (1×), Argos (12×), Elis (1×), and Ithaca (1×). In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, however, the compound is not associated with a specific place name but instead serves as an attribute of a generic plain (vv. 491–492, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτ' ὄρεός τε καὶ ἱπποβότου πεδίοιο || βουσὶ νομοὺς Ἐκάεργε νομεύσομεν ἀγραύλοισιν). This occurrence is noteworthy not only for the type of referent to which the compound is applied, but also because of its metrical position: whereas in the Homeric poems the epithet always appears in the positions [$–^5 \cup \cup –^6 \cup$] (9×) and [$–^2 \cup \cup –^3$] (6×), in the hymn it occurs in position [$–^4 \cup \cup –^5$].

The meaning of the compound is problematic, particularly with regard to the semantic value of the second member (SM), the verbal adjective in **-tó-* from the PIE root **g$^{\text{u}}$eh$_3$-* 'to feed', and its syntactic relationship with the first member (FM), corresponding to the *simplex* Gk. ἵππος 'horse'. While modern lexicographical tradition generally interprets the form as semantically passive ('grazed by horses'; cf., e.g., LSJ, p. 834, *s.v.*), thereby assigning an agentive role to the FM, other scholars (cf. Napoli 2000, 2010), also relying on the ancient exegetical tradition (cf., e.g., *Suid.* ι 553, Ἱπποβότος· μεγάλην γῆν ἔχων, δυνάμενος ἵππους τρέφειν), argue that an active interpretation of the compound is more plausible. On this view, the FM would function as a direct object ('that nourishes horses').

This paper advances a new analysis of the compound through an integrated approach combining the principles of classical philology and historical linguistics (cf. Le Feuvre 2022), with particular attention to poetic phraseology. Research in Indo-European poetic phraseology has not only opened new perspectives on Indo-European society and culture (cf. Campanile 1990), but has also enabled the identification of more or less standardized collocations underlying a given poetic language, sometimes allowing the reconstruction of inherited poetic expressions

(cf. Durante 1976; Watkins 1995; Le Feuvre 2007; García Ramón 2021). Moreover, such approaches have proven especially effective in elucidating morphologically opaque and semantically difficult compounds (cf. García Ramón 2009; Le Feuvre 2015; Kölligan 2012, 2017).

Drawing on analogous formations, such as Gk. Ἱππόλυτος ‘having horses which are loosened’ (cf. García Ramón 2005) and possible Indo-Iranian phraseological parallels, I argue that Gk. ἱππόβοτος was originally a possessive compound (Skt. *bahuvrīhi-*) of the “Armstrong” type (cf. Uhlich 1997), later reanalyzed as a verbal governing compound. Its original meaning would thus have been ‘having horses which are (well-)fed’. This new interpretation also allows for a more coherent reassessment of other compounds with the SM °βοτος, such as αἰγίβοτος (Hom. δ 606, υ 246), βοὐβοτος (Hom. υ 246), μηλόβοτος (Hes.+), πάμβοτος (Aesch. *Suppl.* 558; *TrGF* 3 F 99.1), and τὰ Σὐβοτα (Thuc.+).

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PIE **sent-*

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The LIV^2 attests to several numbered roots, which serve the function of preliminarily disambiguate possible homonyms, e.g. **b^{h}eh$_2$* 'to shine' and 'to speak, say'. However, as often stated in a footnote to either root, they could be one and the same. In a recent study, currently under review, I have tried to put forth arguments in favor of the homonymic hypothesis for some roots for 'to speak' and 'to say'.

The opposite case is also attested, where one root is said to possibly be the conflation of two distinct ones, as is the case for PIE **sent-* 'gehen' → 'wahrnehmen' (?).

Starting with gathering and reviewing the formations on **sent-*, I will go beyond the state-of-the-art by further inscribing the results of that review in a wider semantic picture linking motion and intangible activities such as perception and cognition (as for PIE **leis̯-* 'to learn' but now analyzed as 'to follow a track', Tarsi 2023), hence bringing forth further arguments in favor of the semantic extension from motion to perception.

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Conceptual metaphors and the etymology of Vedic *ṛtá*

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Vedic *ṛtá* and Avestan *aṣa* are rendered as 'Truth' by some scholars, as 'Order' by others, and again others admit that it can have both meanings. The question is how they relate. In spite of several detailed studies (notably, Lüders 1959), this duality of the concept is still not well understood. For instance, Schlerath (1986: 199-200) conceives of *ṛtá* and *aṣa* as the hidden connections ("Übereinstimmungen") between different parts of reality. Oberlies, in his 2024 handbook on Vedic religion, echoes this when he speaks of *ṛtá* as "truth, the *conformity* of what is said and what is thought with an objective circumstance". Such formulations are very abstract and do not inspire confidence. It seems to me that a proper understanding of *ṛtá* and *aṣa* has been marred by the (virtually unchallenged) idea that it etymologically reflects **h₂r-tó-* 'adjusted/fitting', from the Indo-European root **h₂er-* 'fit' (e.g. Haudry 1983; recently, Massetti 2020).

Taking into consideration that words for abstract concepts may contain conventional or fossilized metaphors, knowledge of the relevant metaphors may help our etymological reconstructions. In my paper I will present a conceptual analysis of *ṛtá* in the Rigveda, relating its use to the Event Structure Metaphor (including TRUE SPEECH IS GOAL-ORIENTED MOTION FORWARD). I will also show that the source meaning of **h₂er*, namely the technical notion of fitting an object into another object, is not reflected at all in the Vedic concept of *ṛtá*. I then propose to reconstruct *ṛtá* as **h₂rt-ó-*, an adjective to the PIE root **ret-* 'to run' (*recte*: **h₂ret-* !) reflected also in words for 'wheel' (German *Rad*, Latin *rota*, etc.). The source meaning of this root, FAST MOTION FORWARD, not only fits very well the metaphorical conceptual structures evoked by *ṛtá*, but also neatly fits other (fossilized or conventional) metaphors in cognates from Indo-Iranian, Greek and Latin.

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Together, after, differently: the meanings and productivity of Greek *meta-* in the diachrony of Greek

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Ancient IE languages feature a set of uninflected morphemes referred to as "preverbs", which occur before verbs and modify their meaning in various ways, as shown in (1) with the Ancient Greek (AG) preverb *meta-*. Likely originating from free-standing adverbs, in most daughter languages preverbs functionally bifurcated into adpositions and bound prefixes (Kuryłowicz 1964:171). In Greek, these adverbials underwent increasing grammaticalization and lexicalization (Zanchi 2019:74-80). In Homeric Greek, they partially retained their syntactic autonomy from verbs to the extent that later grammarians misinterpreted this free-standing status as a separation ("tmesis"). From Classical Greek onward, preverbs began to lose syntactic autonomy and to be reanalyzed as part of the verbal stem due to morphotactic opacity (Dosuna 1997:580-585). Morphotactic opacity was accompanied by morphosemantic opacity, eventually leading to non-compositionality and lexicalization. These processes were favored by semantic solidarity between preverbs and verbs (see examples in (1); Dosuna 1997:583-584; Zanchi 2019: passim).

For this case study, the preverb *meta-* was selected, as its semantics became quite soon distinct from that of the corresponding preposition (Luraghi 2005). Additionally, its semantic contributions are often recognizable, not too difficult to trace back and interesting for interlinguistic comparison. Specifically, building on Revuelta Puiugdollers (2020), this study aims to (i) detect the meanings of *meta-* and organize them in a semantic network; (ii) explain the developments of these meanings from their etymological sources and prototypical sense; (iii) assess their productivity from Archaic to Postclassical Greek. The semantic analysis of *meta-* is framed within cognitive semantics: the meanings of a polysemous item can be organized around a prototypical meaning in a network of structured polysemy (Tyler/Evans 2003; see also Revuelta Puiugdollers 2014, 2019, /Mocciaro 2016; Brucale 2019; Inglese 2024). Additional meanings are derived through cognitive metaphors and metonymies. This analysis consists of

an annotation of all the *meta*-preverbed verbs attested in literary works of Archaic, Classical and Postclassical Greek. For this annotation, five tags are employed: spatial, metaphorical, pleonastic, actional/aspectual and bleached/lexicalized. Verbs are annotated based on the meanings stored in reference dictionaries (e.g., the LSJ) and, in case of polysemy, only the firstly attested meaning is collected, as first attestations are indicative of meaning productivity. Then, a distribution analysis is conducted to evaluate the realized productivity of *meta*-meanings in three corpora of Archaic, Classical and Postclassical Greek selected from GLAUx (Keermaekers 2021), based on the productivity measures by Baayen (2009) and Hilpert (2013:127-133). The potential productivity of *meta*-meanings, too, is measured considering hapaxes. Simplex and compound verbs according to their class (Levin's 1993 classification is employed for this goal), to assess whether certain *meta*-verb schemata have gained productivity due to the high frequency of single *meta*-verbs (Bybee 2015:133; see also Inglese 2024). Overall, this work will offer a testbed for extending this approach to other Greek and IE preverbs.

(1) a. In the midst: *érkhomai* 'go, come' > *met-érkhomai* 'come, go among'
b. Among (semantic solidarity): *mísgō* 'mix' > *meta-mísgō* 'mix among'
c. 'With, together with': *dídōmi* 'give' > *meta-dídōmi* 'give a share, distribute'
d. After (semantic solidarity): *hépomai* 'follow' > *methépō* 'follow after'
e. Change of place: *baínō* 'walk' > *meta-baínō* 'pass over' (Hom.), 'change'
f. Change of condition: *poiéō* 'make' > *meta-poiéō* 'change'
g. Reverse: *manthánō* 'learn' > *meta-manthánō* 'unlearn'

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